not invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door.

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest.

The *divankhana* or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first

a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, certain persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (wudu), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an observably large proportion of the populace, with no respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (ghusl), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is sexual intercourse. An individual so concerned is najis, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and requiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the parings will be noted later.

At an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, 302
and, save when untoue in the bath, this type of coiffure [515]
is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and
is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a
reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being
purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some
houses, kohl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony
moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of
the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most
of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their
lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna,
a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday
practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be 164
caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, 751
usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such
as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is
not found in this area, nor is the technique used to
prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial
infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstrua- 841
tion clean pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual [833]
intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths
are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by 304
most men to be done by women of the town, but it is
possible to observe daily female residents of the lower
classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces.
These are either transient servants or migrants from the
villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

women in labor. A second woman, the midwife, is summoned §44
at the same time. There were four midwives in Rowandus
in 1951, all women of the lower classes. The mother is
delivered lying on mattresses spread on the floor. When
the baby is held up by the midwife, the women cry Salawat
(Arabic, "Prayers") and Yilah ("God"), which conveys the
event to the waiting men nearby. The midwife severs the
umbilical cord with a knife and ties it, and the baby is
washed in water, rolled in a mixture of oil and salt, and
swaddled. Pieces of cloth have been placed under the
mother. The blood is washed from these and they may be
used again. The afterbirth, hevar aliday ("friend of the
infant"), is taken some distance from the house and
buried. A woman is considered impure for forty days after §46
the birth and she is not allowed to have intercourse with [§33]
her husband during this period. When it is completed, she [§81]
is supposed to take a ritualized bath in which forty cups
of water are poured over her. Intercourse between husband [§43]
and wife is freely permitted during pregnancy. [§33]

The female relatives of the mother remain with her §51
for seven days. A celebration for both sexes ensues, de-
pending for its size on whether or not the newly-born is a
boy and the wealth of the father. For the wealthy, a
series of animals, sheep or goats, are slaughtered and
their flesh is distributed to the poor. A banquet is held
for the friends and relatives of the house, lasting from
a few days to two weeks, at times accompanied by dancing
and the music of the flute and drum. A poor man can only

4: Hannes E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

In dwellings in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a bedroom. The articles of value and locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, lavishly-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1], involving a married couple with/above to one of the other rooms. There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married women, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". Where prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then pleading the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed on a lightsome corner of the family circle where this had "gathered round". whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the workhouse by the light of a fire, or to read at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In the city house of the village missionary specials European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with valve aerials (only found on the